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THE NEGRO STUDENT AT INTEGRATED COLLEGES.

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NEGRO STUDENTS WHO HAD SOUGHT ASSISTANCE FROM THE NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS TO ATTEND INTERRACIAL COLLEGES WERE FOLLOWEDUP TO DETERMINE THE DEGREE OF THEIR PROGRESS AND ADJUSTMENT IN COLLEGE AND AFTER GRADUATION. DATA FOR 509 STUDENTS WERE OBTAINED FROM A PRECOLLEGE INFORMATION SHEET PREPARED WHEN THE SCHOLARSHIPS WERE AWARDED FROM COLLEGE TRANSCRIPTS AND POST-GRADUATION QUESTIONNAIRES. THE MAJOR FINDINGS WERE--STUDENTS' DROPOUT RATES WERE LOWER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE FOR WHITES AND FOR NEGROES ATTENDING SEGREGATED COLLEGES. FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES WERE THE MAJOR REASONS FOR LEAVING COLLEGE. ON THE WHOLE, COLLEGE GRADES WERE AVERAGE AND DEPENDED MORE ON THE STUDENTS' HIGH SCHOOL AVERAGES AND THEIR PARENTS' EDUCATION THAN ON THEIR PARENTS' INCOME OR THE STUDENTS' PRECOLLEGE TEST SCORES. NEARLY ALL THE STUDENTS JUDGED THEIR COLLEGE EXPERIENCE FAVORABLY, BUT SOME INDICATED THAT THEY ENCOUNTERED RACIAL PROBLEMS AND PRESSURES. GENERALLY, IT WAS FOUND THAT THE COLLEGE-TRAINED NEGRO WAS NOT FORCED TO TAKE A MENIAL JOB BUT WAS NOT FULLY INTEGRATED INTO PRIVATE INDUSTRY. HE STILL HAD TO DEPEND UPON GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE AGENCIES FOR A JOB IN WHICH HE COULD USE HIS SKILLS. (BD)

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NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE

AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Foreword

IT IS WITH CONSIDERABLE PRIDE THAT NSSFNS publishes the report of the follow-up study of the progress and adjustment of five classes of its alumni (former counselees and scholars), as a measure of how well these students did in and after college.

One fact alone emerging from the study, that more than 90% of those responding received or will have received their bachelors degrees, against a national dropout rate of over 40%, gives eloquent testimony that the NSSFNS program has been worth-while. The achievements of these young people, who received some help when they needed it, truly represent conservation and development of our human resources.

NSSFNS is indeed indebted to Professors Clark and Plotkin, as well as to Mrs. Justine Smadback, for carrying out this study and to the Old Dominion Foundation which made it possible. Most of all, however, NSSFNS has a feeling of gratitude toward the hundreds of young people who more than justified our faith in them.

RICHARD L. PLAUT
President, NSSFNS

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Summary

The Study

THESE ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS OF A follow-up study of five "alumni" classes of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). The "alumni" were the 1,519 students who, as high school seniors, sought some type of aid, counseling, or financial assistance from NSSFNS in order to enter interracial colleges in the years 1952 to 1956.

The basic data cover three major periods in the lives of the "alumni" and come from various sources:

- *pre-college information* supplied by the student and the high school at the time of initial NSSFNS contact;
- *college performance* supplied by the college in the form of a transcript;
- *post-college adjustment* supplied by the student on a questionnaire mailed to him several years after graduation from college. Retrospective information on college experiences was also included in the questionnaire.

The basic population of the study consists of the 509 Negro students for whom there is complete information. Partial information (pre-college and college performance) is available for the 769 students who failed to respond to the questionnaire. A total of 241 students could not be included because 238 lacked a transcript and for three the transcript was incomplete. Of these, 36 responded to the questionnaire.

The Major Findings

COLLEGE PERFORMANCE

Dropout Rate. The net dropout rate is one-fourth the national one. Fewer than 10% of these Negro students failed to obtain a degree while approximately 40% of white students do not complete college.

The gross dropout rate of these Negro students (departure from college without a degree but uncorrected for transfer or resumption at other institutions) is 18.9% compared to the national rate of about 60%.

The students who failed to respond to the questionnaire have a gross dropout rate of 43.2%, which, while greater than the study population, is also well below the national rate.

Combining the two groups (respondent and non-respondent), a total of 1,278 students, yields a gross dropout rate of 33.4%, about one-half the national average for whites and for Negroes at segregated colleges.

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Although complex selective factors operate to produce the sample, the low dropout rate for these Negro students cannot be explained by sample biases. On scholastic aptitude tests and in socio-economic status, the Negro population in this study is lower than their white counterparts who drop out more frequently. Nor can the low rate be accounted for by the level of college attended; more than half of the respondents attended prestige colleges.

A motivational hypothesis is advanced to explain the very low drop-out rate of Negroes at integrated colleges. These students must complete college; to drop out means that they will fall back into the ranks of the non-specialized labor force where their race insures the permanence of low status. Thus, the Negro students, aspiring to integration, overwhelmingly succeed in graduating despite the fact that they are less well prepared academically and financially. The alternatives to graduation are years of lower pay and status, greater unemployment, and under-utilization of their skills.

Because Negro students in segregated colleges in the south cannot break through racial barriers by education alone, our hypothesis is not applicable to their dropout rate.

Reasons for dropout. Financial reasons for dropout lead all others, closely followed by personal and academic explanations. Financial need plays a more important role in the Negro population than in the white.

College grades. The college grades are average; 31% achieved an average of B− or better and 50% achieved C+ or worse for the four years. Slightly less than 10% graduate with honors and about 1% report election to Phi Beta Kappa.

Correlates of Academic Success. For the following comparisons, the basic population was sub-divided into three groups on the basis of academic success: Group B (157 students who achieved a degree and maintained a B− average or better), Group C (256 students who earned a degree and maintained a C+ or less average), and Group DNC (96 students who did not complete the first college entered).

Geographical. Students born in the south tend to achieve higher college grades than those born elsewhere. This seems to refute the preconception that Negroes receive better secondary preparation in northern high schools; students from southern secondary schools have higher college grades than those from high schools in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

High School Average. Students with higher grades in high school have higher grades in college.

Income of Parents. There is no relationship between family income of this sample and academic success at college.

Occupation of parents. Academic success is directly related to the

parents' occupational level. Group B has more fathers in the professions and fewer in blue-collar jobs than the DNC group. Group C is intermediate. The same relationship is found for mothers' occupations but less strongly than for fathers'.

Parents' college attendance. Successful completion of college is a function of the parents' college attendance. If neither parent attended, there is a greater likelihood that their child will not complete college. If both parents attended and at least one achieved a degree, higher grades are earned by their offspring. Mere attendance by both parents or degree achievement by only one, however, is not greatly associated with academic success.

NSSFNS *Supplementary Scholarships.* Only a quarter of the basic population received financial aid from NSSFNS; their performance on both degree achievement and grades earned is superior to the students who received no supplementary aid. This clearly reflects the effective scholarship selection and screening procedure by the sponsoring organization.

Sex. Not only are there more women than men in the basic population (the opposite of the white sex ratio) but the women also tend to complete college more frequently and to earn higher grades.

Pre-college test scores. The predictive value of intelligence tests administered in high school is not high. Differences between the three groups are small and not always in the expected direction.

Similarly, scholastic aptitude test scores are not clearly associated with college grades. It is suggested that college admissions officers weigh test scores less, since these do not predict the college success of Negro students in the same way they do for whites. This study indicates that motivational factors are probably more important than test scores in the demonstrated superiority of Negro students in completing college.

College attended. Not only is the dropout rate lowest at prestige colleges but grades too are slightly superior at prestige institutions than at others. Geographically, southern colleges report the highest dropout rate and eastern ones the lowest.

COLLEGE EXPERIENCES

Attitude toward college. Although nearly all the students retrospectively judged their college experience very favorably, there are some indications that the Negro at integrated colleges faces some racial problems and pressures. There is strong evidence that the least successful academic group is less enthusiastic about the favorable aspects of college than the better academic groups and readier to report instances of discrimination.

Aspects of college life. The most pleasing aspects of college were intellectual stimulation and cultural enrichment. Third, but considerably below these, was interracial contact. Absence of adequate dating opportunities was the greatest source of dissatisfaction.

The least successful academic group differs from the other groups by reflecting greater racial sensitivity and more hostility towards whites.

Extra-curricular activities. There is a marked degree of integration outside the classroom; two-thirds of the Negro students report membership in three or more activities. Less than 10% report no extra-curricular activity at all.

Most frequently cited activities were in social, student government, sports, musical or dramatic, and academic organizations.

More than three-quarters of the basic population held office and one-third received awards or honors for their extra-curricular activity.

The DNC group lags behind the better academic groups in degree of participation and leadership roles. There is also evidence of differences in the type of activity entered by the three groups.

Undergraduate financing. The low family income forced the Negro students to obtain financial aid elsewhere. Scholarships and part-time employment constituted the major source of college financing. Whereas 60% of college funds for white students come from family or savings, only a quarter of the basic population received money from these sources and the amount received is less than one-third the total required.

In-school employment. Although over three-quarters of the students report employment during the regular academic year, most of the jobs were not in their area of study nor connected with the college. One-quarter of the population reports working more than 15 hours a week. Very heavy work loads (more than 22 hours per week) are associated with failure to complete college.

POST-COLLEGE ADJUSTMENT

Present family status. The median age of the students at the time of filling out the questionnaire was 26 years. Slightly less than half are married and their wives or husbands possess similar educational and professional qualifications. One-quarter of these have been married a year or less and approximately 40% have been married two and three years. Two-fifths of the marriages are childless. The divorce and separation rate reported is very small.

Geographically, the students live predominantly in the east and midwest. Migration from the south is evident; although 40% were born there only half that number now reside in the south.

Employment pattern. Public employment is, by far, the predominant area of occupation. Only slightly more than ten per cent are in private enterprise and almost none are self-employed.

Overwhelmingly, the job classifications are high level rather than routine. About forty per cent of those employed were engaged as professionals (more than half of these are teachers). Only one per cent are in

blue-collar jobs.

While the data clearly reveal that the college trained Negro is no longer required to hold a menial position, he is not yet fully integrated into private industry and commerce. He is still dependent upon government and private agencies for the utilization of his skills.

Clear differences in the type of employer and nature of the job are revealed by a comparison of the three groups. The students who achieve degrees are more frequently in public employment as professionals than the DNC group which is employed most by private industry in lower level jobs (all the blue-collar jobs reported are in the latter group).

Community activity. Although over 80% of the students participate in some form of community affairs, most of these report only nominal involvement; only two per cent can be classified as actively involved. Membership in religious organizations is the most prevalent form of community activity, followed by membership in civil rights groups.

About two-thirds of the Negro students report membership in professional and academic organizations. after graduation. The DNC group reports a far lower rate here than the other two groups.

Social issues. The status of the Negro is the paramount concern. Almost three-quarters of the group report meeting at least one major form of discrimination since leaving college. Housing leads in discriminatory rebuffs, closely followed by employment and public accommodations.

There is no difference in racial sensitivity of the three groups after college, although while in college, the DNC group was clearly more conscious of threat.

The reading habits of these students seem no different from those of the general population. Only ten per cent deny reading any newspaper regularly and six per cent do so for magazines. Surprisingly, almost unanimously, they deny reading any Negro newspaper regularly.

Graduate history. Almost one-quarter of the students were attending graduate school at the time of filling out the questionnaire. Twenty per cent report advanced degrees.

The leading fields of graduate study were the physical sciences and teaching. Almost half of the students reporting graduate experience were registered at prestige institutions. As expected, there was a linear relationship between college performance and graduate degrees earned.

Military service. Less than one-fifth served in the Armed services; most of these were in the Army. The DNC group has the highest rate of military service.

Military integration has been effectively achieved for this population; less than ten per cent serve in segregated units. Furthermore, half of the Negroes in military service report one or more promotions; one-third are commissioned officers.

Introduction

THE PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION was to determine the outcome of the lives of the Negro students who had contact with the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, (hereafter referred to as NSSFNS). This organization functions to help qualified students gain admission to and financial assistance at interracial colleges. In some cases where college scholarships are won but are insufficient for the student to attend, NSSFNS provides supplementary financial aid up to $400 annually to selected students.

Although some students initiate contact with NSSFNS directly, most are reached through their high schools. The NSSFNS pamphlet, "Do You Want to Go to College?" is mailed to those who take scholastic aptitude tests and have their scores entered in a roster by the guidance counselor who also submits a report on high school performance to NSSFNS. The student then fills out an information form found in the pamphlet. Upon receipt of this, NSSFNS sends all qualified students college admission and scholarship information which fit their particular academic, financial, and personal qualifications.

The students make application directly to the colleges of their choice and are asked to inform NSSFNS which colleges accept them and the ones they plan to attend.

During the Southern Project (21), recruitment in the south was accomplished by personal visits of NSSFNS staff. For those students accepted by colleges, visits were made by staff members through the college years.

NSSFNS contacts with these student counselees varied from a simple letter of inquiry and its reply through sustained correspondence, systematic counseling, suggestions and information concerning desirable college admissions and sources of scholarship aid; and, in some cases, the granting of supplementary scholarship aid.

Design of the Study

All the students (1,519) who submitted personal information forms preparatory to entering college in the years 1952 through 1956 were sent a letter telling them about the purposes of the study and requesting their completion of an enclosed 8-page questionnaire (Appendix D). Transcripts were also requested from the colleges which these students attended. A total of 1,281 transcripts were received. Only 238 requests for transcripts

were refused for a variety of reasons including no record of the student having attended the college, no transcript without written permission of student, and no response at all.

On the first mailing of the questionnaire to the pre-college address of the student, 181 questionnaires were returned completed and 257 were returned unopened because of an incorrect address.

A second mailing of questionnaires was made with changes in home address if this information was included in the transcript. Out of the 1,101 that went out, 134 were returned completed and 87 could not be delivered. A third mailing of 863 was made and 135 were returned completed. By this time, all sources of correcting addresses had been exhausted (including letters to alumni offices). Because of the importance of a large sample on post-college adjustment, a fourth mailing was decided upon, but with a slight change in procedure. To the typed letters of request was added a penned note stating "We will appreciate your help." This stratagem produced 95 completed questionnaires out of the total 637 mailed. It is interesting to note that instead of a steadily diminishing proportion of replies, the rate is about the same for all four mailings. The personal touch in the fourth mailing is responsible, we feel, for the continued rate of response.

Although 545 questionnaires were returned,[1] 33 of these students lacked a transcript and were excluded from the study because a major concern of the study was college performance.

The basic data of this study come from three sources:

- the *pre-college information sheet* supplied by the student and high school counselor which consisted of personal and family information, high school grades, class standing and test scores
- *the college transcript* supplied by the college which yielded degree and honors granted, grades by course, dates of attendance, major field, and probationary or disciplinary information
- *the questionnaire* supplied by the student which covered retrospective views of college, college financing, post-college information (graduate education, employment, military service etc.), attitudes, present personal adjustment and perspective, and family information.

The report which follows concerns the 509 students[2] who returned the questionnaire and whose transcript permitted the calculation of a

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[1] The rate of return is 35.2%, but since a large number of letters remained undelivered, the net rate is higher and rather surprising because of the minimal contact many students had and the length of the questionnaire. Furthermore, 18 people replied to our letter but refused to fill out the questionnaire.

[2] Three transcripts which indicated degree outcome did not permit this. They are included in Appendix A where respondents are compared to non-respondents.

grade average in college. After a description of the total respondent population, for purposes of analysis, this group is sub-divided into three on the basis of academic success: Group B (received a degree and achieved a four year B− average or above), Group C (received a degree and maintained a C+ or lower average), and Group DNC (did not complete college according to the transcript). It is thus possible to see how academic success is related to all the variables discussed.

College Performance

Degree Achievement and Dropout Rate

THE MAJOR INDEX OF COLLEGE achievement is the baccalaureate degree which symbolizes for the student both present and future status and the culmination of all past educational efforts.

The student who drops out of college for any reason is viewed as a problem by the institution and, perhaps, by the dropout himself. Certainly dropouts from college reflect a pattern of unsolved problems in admission and predictive criteria, personal adjustment, and motivation.

The most objective method for determining graduation rate and its converse, dropout rate, is an examination of the college transcripts. In a very few cases, the college transcript indicated that the student had transferred to another college, which was then asked for a transcript. Four-fifths of the respondent population (80.2%) were awarded degrees according to the college transcript; only 19.8% dropped out.

Before attempting to explain why the respondent population has such a low dropout rate, it is necessary to discuss the questionnaire information which together with data from the transcripts give, in effect, a more accurate measure of the actual dropout rate. Although the transcript is objective, for the most part, it simply described a past event, departure from the school. It cannot, by itself, be used as a description of the *eventual* outcome of the college status of the dropout who may, at a future date, resume his education elsewhere.

When the questionnaires were analyzed for successful completion of college, 85.8% of the respondents reported the baccalaureate and 4.5% stated thay were in process of receiving a degree. Therefore, *only 9.9% can be considered dropouts.*

While the gross dropout rate by transcripts is 18.2%, far below any published figure, the questionnaires indicate that almost half of these return to college and achieve a degree, producing a net rate of about 10%.[3]

The dropout rate for these Negro students who had some type of contact with NSSFNS and attended integrated colleges is less than one-quarter the national average dropout rate. This suggests that these students were better selected or were more highly motivated or both.

In 1958, Iffert (16) reported that, in a study covering 13,700 students

[3] To determine the validity of the subjective report of graduation, requests for transcripts were sent to the institution listed by the respondent as conferring the baccalaureate; 92.3% were found to have degrees or were in process at schools indicated. These transcripts do not appear in the subsequent statistical analysis.

who entered college in 1950 at 149 institutions, 40% never achieved a degree and that only 40% remain to graduate with their class; the other 20% achieved degrees at some other college or at a later date in the first college.

The large mortality rate described in Iffert's study seems to be a rather stable one. Twenty years earlier, in a classic study covering 15,000 students in 25 colleges, McNeely (19) reported that the gross dropout rate from public institutions was 64.5% and 58.5% from private ones. When transferees and returnees are subtracted, the net dropout rate becomes 48.7% from public colleges and 39.9% from private ones.

In the university system of Georgia which includes 19 colleges and over 5,000 students, 39% of the students who entered in 1957 withdrew by the end of the first year (14). No figures are given for subsequent years but the studies cited earlier agree that, while withdrawals are greatest in the first year, almost as many will drop out in the three subsequent years as do in the first. Dropout rates determined for entering class, without subsequent attempts to determine whether the withdrawing student resumed college at another institution at a later date, undoubtedly inflate the dropout rate and make comparisons with studies that attempt a follow up difficult.

Thus, Scales' study (24) designed to determine graduation rate of Negro college students at 35 segregated colleges in 14 states (mostly in the deep South) yields a graduation rate of only 38.6% of the original registrants; the 62.4% who withdrew or were dropped were not followed up. These figures correspond with the gross dropout rate in the national surveys referred to earlier and confirm that the Negro dropout rate in segregated colleges is essentially equal to the white. Furthermore, the earlier reported differences in graduation rates between private and public institutions nationally are confirmed in this study of Negro students as is the relationship between first year dropout and subsequent withdrawals over the next three years.

Increased confirmation of the similarity of dropout rates reported for Negroes in Negro colleges and whites in predominantly white colleges is found in comparisons of single college studies. The 1951 entering class at Xavier University (New Orleans) for Negroes lost 61% of its students over the four year span (7). Gross dropout rates for Big Ten colleges are reported as 56% at Indiana (17), 60% at the College of Education of Ohio State University (32) and 46% at the University of Wisconsin (18).

Geographically, the high gross mortality rate hardly varies. Thus in the south, first year withdrawals are 31.3% at the University of Arkansas (13), 31.1% at Alabama Polytechnic (27); in the east, at Temple University, 32% do not register for the second year (11). From other

studies it may be assumed that the dropout rate during the next three years will be double the first year withdrawal figures.

By any criterion, both the gross and net dropout rates for Negro students who responded to our questionnaire are far below the national norm, with the net dropout rate being only one-quarter of the reported white rate.

Of course, the respondents are a selected sample and they differ significantly from those who did not reply to the questionnaire. In Appendix A, differences between the two groups are presented. The non-respondents, from the transcript, were found to have a 43.2% gross dropout rate which is considerably less than that reported in most studies without a follow-up. *In fact, when we combine respondents and non-respondents, a total of 1278 students, the gross dropout rate* (from transcript) *is only 33.4% for the Negro students serviced by* NSSFNS, *about one-half of the national rate.*

Undoubtedly, there are differences between the population studied here and those reported elsewhere; complex selective factors can be presumed to operate. Sample differences, however, are not important variables in determining the low dropout rate of this population.

It is commonplace to note that effective predictors of college success are aptitude tests and socio-economic status of the student. It is precisely in these indices, however, that the *respondent population of Negroes is much lower than their white counterparts who drop out more frequently.* That is, even selected samples of Negro college students reflect a lower socio-economic status and poorer aptitude test score than the average white population of college students. Thus, the median family income of the respondents is only slightly over $4,000 per year; while for the graduates in Iffert's national study it was $5,947 and for non-graduates, $5,510. The Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board yielded a median under 500; the CEEB reports (5) that in a moderately selective college the median is over 500 and that in a highly selected one it is over 650. By these standards, it would be expected that Negroes would have a higher dropout rate than whites, rather than the reverse. Nor can this high success rate of Negro college students be explained away by the hypothesis that they enter less selective colleges. Half of the respondents attended prestige colleges. In Appendix C, the college attended are listed in order of number of respondents; the first fifteen account for nearly one-third of all respondents and include such institutions as the municipal colleges of New York, the Big Ten, (Ohio State, Illinois, Michigan), Ivy League (Harvard, Dartmouth), and such notable independents as Oberlin, Amherst, Antioch, Lafayette, Temple, and Berea. The gross dropout rate at prestige colleges in fact, is lower (16%) than non-prestige colleges (29%).

Since none of the usual selective or predictive factors appear to account for this persistence, the explanation for the low dropout rate of these Negro students must be sought in motivational factors. Coming for the most part from low income families and from generally inferior elementary and secondary schools, these students seem *determined* to graduate and they do, despite all handicaps. Generally, white college students have many alternatives to college: family business, training programs in private industry, or self employment. These alternatives do not exist realistically for Negro college students. Without the college degree, they must necessarily fall back into the ranks of the non-specialized labor force where their color insures the permanence of lower status. Thus, the Negro student who enters an integrated college will successfully complete it at a greater rate than his white counterpart even though initially he may not be as well-prepared academically and financially.

William Wertenbaker (31), journalistically describing the dropout problem at Harvard, advances the thesis that many of these highly selected dropouts are motivated by a search for their own identity, not the one chosen for them by their parents. Since entering freshmen average 670 on the scholastic aptitude test of the CEEB, the 25% dropout rate at Harvard is ". . . frustrating and bewildering" (p. 68).[4] With 5,000 applicants each year, Harvard can also apply non-academic criteria in selecting the elite of the United States.

No one can deny that Harvard dropouts are searching for an identity; the same statement is applicable to all youth, white or Negro, maturing in our culture. What concerns us is that Negro college students, searching for personal identity, do so in a world which stamps all Negroes with the stigma of second-class citizenship. Unlike the white student, however, the Negro finds his identity at college *if he graduates;* for dropping out means sinking back into low status, low-paying jobs.

White students in general can find fairly satisfactory identities without college degrees, Negroes cannot. On Wertenbaker's return to Cambridge, he describes meeting classmates who had dropped out and later returned to Harvard. Of the eight who had dropped out, five went abroad (two to live, one to study, one on a sailing ship which had advertised for a crew, and one as a merchant sailor); two worked in the theatre, and the interim career of one is not described although Europe is implied.

The alternatives open to Harvard dropouts as they search for an identity not found at college scarcely exist as realities for the Negro. College makes his identity; if he drops out, it is for the more mundane reasons of money, scholastic failure, or personal conflicts (see p. 20).

[4] Many achieve a degree ultimately, some even return to Harvard; Wertenbaker estimates the net dropout rate to be about 10%, the same found in our population of Negro college students.

To state that motivational factors determine college persistence is tautological; to prove it, however, is difficult. Iffert (16) states:

> The hypothesis that the stronger a student's motivation, the better are his chances of remaining in college has been advanced by many writers and has been supported by evidence. *Every effort to find an association of sufficient magnitude to support the hypothesis by comparing the ratings of reasons for going to college and the records of persistence has met with failure.* (p. 25, our italics)

Since there is no direct evidence to answer the specific questions concerning the markedly lower dropout rate of these Negro students, we have advanced the hypothesis that Negro college students persist more because of their racial role in our sociaty. If there is any room at the top for a Negro, he must be college-trained. Thus, the modal choice of teaching as a career by this population (see p. 22) reflects the caste and class role of the upwardly mobile Negro, not the attractiveness of teaching *per se*. Paradoxically the very fact of occupational limitations on the Negro college graduate may operate to reduce his dropout rate. Brazziel (2) reports that more than half of the students at a southern Negro teachers college preferred another field of specialization but chose teaching because their paramount need was for a sure job upon graduation. For white women, Mueller and Mueller (20) indicate that those high in socio-economic status are more attracted to the liberal arts College of Indiana University while those of middle socio-economic status are attracted to the School of Education. Teaching for the Negro not only means a rise in income, but is also a clear status gain; these are not so obvious for the general white population. Teaching, however, requires a degree; hence the strong persistence of the Negro college student. Similarly, other occupations which represent upward mobility, motivate the Negro more intensely than the white.

These differences between whites and Negroes in motivation exist prior to college according to a study by Singer and Steffire (26). Negro high school seniors, matched with a white population on the basis of age, sex, grades, and socio-economic status, were more concerned with "a job they were sure of keeping" whereas the whites selected "very interesting jobs."

Lower wages are paid to non-college working class Negroes than to whites performing equivalent work (25) and, of course, there is a larger proportion of unemployed in the former group. The Negroes in the above study felt success was more easily obtained in occupations low on the prestige ladder but they aspired to higher prestige occupations. Furthermore, more Negroes were employed outside of their trade than whites. These are the alternatives to college for the Negro dropout. Ahead of him he can see years of lower pay, lower status, greater unemployment, and no guarantee that his skills will be used. Is it surprising then that most Negro high school seniors do not aspire to "interesting jobs" or that many

Negro teachers pursue education although they desire another field of study or that most Negro college students graduate?

This racial motivational hypothesis seems to be refuted by the dropout rates for Negro students in segregated colleges which are equal to the white norm. The hypothesis can be maintained, however, if one takes into account that the Negroes in predominantly Negro colleges are even more deprived academically and financially than our population. Additionally, the decision to enter an interracial college rather than a segregated one probably reflects a tendency or conscious desire to break through the existing racial barriers. Thus, the Negro students in this study not only are motivated by economic, academic, and status considerations, but also are reinforced by their attempt to achieve racial equality through personal goals.

The Negro student in predominantly Negro colleges, on the other hand, cannot hope to break through racial barriers by education alone. This may account for their adoption of other methods to achieve racial break-throughs.

Reasons for Dropout

When we analyze the reasons for dropout obtained from the questionnaires, it is found that financial reasons are most frequently offered for failure to complete. One-third of the explanations are in this category. Personal and academic reasons follow (22.7 and 20%) with other explanations fourth (16%). None report disciplinary discharge and eight per cent did not answer the question.

That Negro college students who drop out reflect financial need much more than white dropouts is clear from the published literature. In Scales' (24) study of 35 colleges for Negroes in the south financial explanations for dropout lead all others (26.8% compared to 24.3% for poor scholarship). Similarly, Berry and Jones (1) report that withdrawal from a Negro college, Grambling College, was precipitated most by lack of funds.

Iffert's (16) study, however, on a nation-wide sample places financial difficulties *third* in reasons for dropping out, military service and lack of interest in studies precede finance for men; marriage and employment lead as explanations for women. Because of the Korean war, however, the military service is disproportionately large. In the study cited earlier of dropout rate in the 19 colleges in the university system of Georgia (14), only 2% offer financial reasons. Financial difficulty is second in McNeely's (19) list for causes of college mortality in 1938 when the nation was just emerging from the depression.

Most single college studies of dropouts in predominantly white

colleges confirm the lesser role of finances as explanation for dropouts. Thus, at Temple (11),, finance is tied for third place with two other reasons for dropping out; it is third at the University of Arkansas (13), and De Pauw (6) and sixth at Ohio State University (32).

That finances are a major explanation of the small Negro dropout rate can be noted in the relatively few who drop out in the first year and the large number who drop out subsequently. It will be remembered that in all studies first year mortality rate is always the highest. The DNC group in this study, however, loses only 27% the first year, 40.7% the second year, 15.6% the third year and 6.3% in the last year (unclear or no information for 10.4%). Iffert has noted (15) that while first year dropouts are principally for academic reasons, subsequent departures are due more to financial reasons. He has also pointed out that those who drop out after 1.5 years tend to have grades equal to or better than those who graduate.

It is clear, therefore, from the available evidence that the Negro college students in this sample tend to drop out of interracial colleges primarily for financial reasons and that this basis for failure to complete college is not as significant for white students.

College Grades

Although the dropout rate was far below the national average, the college grades achieved by the respondent population are not exceptional. Only 30.8% (Group B) earned an average of 2.8 (B−) or better for the four years and 50.3% (Group C) averaged 2.7 (C+) or worse. Less than 10% (9.2) were graduated summa, magna, or cum laude; 1.3% were elected to ϕBK. An additional 4.8% are reported to have received academic honors other than the above. The low dropout rate cannot therefore, be explained in terms of superior academic performance by the Negro students. Nonetheless, it should be stated again that the academic performance of these students is far beyond the level that would be indicated by such predictive indices as college board scores, family income and educational background.

Below is a chart of the three groups' median college average over the four years: (A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, and D = 1):

Group	Number	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year
B	157	2.96	3.00	3.12	3.17
C	256	2.23	2.29	2.36	2.58
DNC*	96	1.96	2.16	2.15	1.87
TOTAL	509	2.39	2.50	2.61	2.83

*DNC is the group which by first transcript did not complete college; earlier we have shown that about half of these dropouts resume college and obtain a degree at another institution.

These data seem to suggest that the freshman year average is a good indicator of the level of academic performance for the next three years.

Qualitatively, the differences between the groups can be seen more clearly if we present the percentage of students who achieve a B+ or A (3.5–4 point average) over the four years:

	Percent of B+ or Better			
	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year
B	10.3	12.8	21.7	24.9
C	0	0	0	0
DNC	3.0	1.0	1.1	0

Group B not only has the highest average but also includes almost all the good scholars. The DNC group has small percentages of good students while the degree group with a C average does not have a single student who achieves a B+ or better in any one year.

Conversely, none of the students in Group B ever have a year's average of D+ or lower (1.7 and less) whereas the DNC group has 36.5% with grade D in the first year, 23% in the second year, 10.6% in the third year, and 2.0% in the last year. Group C has 9% D in the first year, followed by 10.6, 5.5, and 3.9% for the subsequent years.

There is some evidence that the DNC group's failure to complete college is a function of the major field of undergraduate study. Although more in this group fail to indicate a field on the questionnaire (14.8%)* than Groups B and C (5.0 and 4.9%), in three of the fields covering more than half of the choices, *there is a linear relationship between academic success and college major*. More students from Group B major in teaching, social sciences and humanities than in Group C and the DNC group.

Below are the percentages of students in each group by selected major:

	Teaching	Social Science	Humanities	Physical and Biological Science
B	25.4	16.6	17.1*	11.0
C	24.2	14.7	8.1	18.2
DNC	16.7	4.6*	4.6	12.0

Only in mathematics (including statistics), engineering and other applied fields does the DNC group exceed the degree groups. The latter field, incidentally, is opted by 25.9% of the DNC group for the modal choice of that population whereas teaching is the modal choice of the other two degree groups. A partial explanation for the failure to complete would seem to be the course of study selected.

All numbers carrying reference index († ‡) represent statistically significant differences at the .05 level which are described in Appendix B.

Correlates of Academic Success[5]

GEOGRAPHICAL

There is a slight relationship between region of birth and academic success; of all the students born in the south (40.6% of the total population) more tend to achieve higher college grades than those born in other parts of the country. Thus, 46.5% of the best academic group are born in the south, with 39.5% of Group C and 34.4%† of the DNC group born there. Conversely of the 36.7% born in New England or the middle Atlantic states, only 29.9% of Group B is born in the east with 39.8% and 39.5% of the poorer academic groups (C and DNC) born there.

The relationship between geographical factors and academic success is seen also in the high school regions attended by the respondents. Most of Group C (41.8%) come from the middle Atlantic states (N.Y., N.J., and Penna.) and 37.5% of the DNC group also comes from those states, but only 27.4%‡ of the best academic performers (Group B) are from there. These findings tend to refute still another preconception; namely that Negro students are receiving better secondary preparation in northern rather than southern schools. The fact is that those students from southern high schools (for the most part segregated) on the average have higher academic grades in interracial colleges than students from high schools in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey which are presumably non-segregated. This finding either reflects a general inferiority of education in these northern high schools, or greater motivation in the southern students, or more selectivity in the intellectual potential of those students from southern high schools who are able to meet the minimal requirements for admission to northern interracial colleges—or some combination of these factors.

HIGH SCHOOL AVERAGE

As would be expected there is a marked relationship between high school average and academic success in college. Most of the students in Group B (63.7%)* achieved A− or A averages in high school; only 36.3% in Group C, and 27.8% in the DNC group had exc 'lent high school averages. Iffert (15) has stated that students in the top fifth of their high school class have twice as great a probability of college graduation as those in the second fifth and eight times as great as those in the lowest fifth.

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[5] See Appendix A for the correlates of academic success (degree achievement) for the pooled populations of respondents and non-respondents.

INCOME OF PARENTS

We have already indicated that, for these Negro students at integrated colleges, family income is not a good predictor of academic success (determined by degree earned). When we examine the three groups, no differences are found. The superior academic group (B) reports a median family income below ($3,929) the one reported by group C ($4,462). The DNC group is almost equal to the best academic group ($4,026). It seems to us, however, that family income, within the range of this study, is an unimportant factor. More central are the motivational factors and the potential (as yet hardly measurable) of these students. Despite low income, they graduate at a high rate.

This is not to say, however, that income may not be critical for the decision to attend college or that it may not force students to leave. Thus, 13.3%* of the DNC group report family income below $1,000 per annum compared with 7% in Group B and 6.3% in Group C.

If we analyze the income factor for all NSSFNS alumni (see Appendix A), the addition of the non-respondents who are significantly poorer, produces a clear relationship between degree achievement and income.

OCCUPATION OF PARENTS

Academic success is seen to be a direct function of the father's occupation. Fathers in Group B are professionals in 15.9% of the cases and 29.6%* in blue collar occupations. Group C has 11.7% in the professions and 41.3% in blue collar while the DNC group has lowest professional (8.8%) and highest blue collar rate (50.0%)

The occupation of the mother is also related to degree of academic success but less clearly than the father's occupation. Thus, 56.7%* of the DNC group report no occupation (other than housewife) for the mother, while 42.9 and 43.5% are not employed in groups B and C. Group B leads in mothers engaged in professions (mostly teaching) with 14.7% and the DNC group has the least percentage of mothers classified as professionals (9.3). The intermediate group has 10.6% of the mothers in professions. In blue collar occupations are 11.7% in Group B, 16.6% in Group C and 14.5% in the DNC group.

PARENTS' COLLEGE ATTENDANCE

If neither parent attended college, there is a much greater likelihood that the child will not complete college successfully; 61.4%* of the DNC report that neither parent attended college compared with 36.7% and 48.4% in groups B and C.

When both parents attended college and at least one received a

degree, there is a linear relationship to college performance; 22.9% in group B, 17.2% in group C, and only 10.4%† in the DNC group.

If only one parent attended and received a degree, however, there seems to be no effect on academic performance (6.9% in Group B, 6.0% in Group C and 9.4% in the DNC group. Similarly, mere attendance by one or both parents without either achieving a degree is not greatly associated with academic success (14.6% in group B, 14.1% in group C and 9.4% in the DNC group).

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOLARSHIPS GRANTED BY NSSFNS

Although only 26.2% of the respondent population received NSSNFS supplementary scholarships, these students confirm the scholarship selection procedures, for only 8.2%* do not finish college, the remaining 91.8% are almost evenly divided into group B and C (45.5% and 46.3%). The respondents who received no supplementary scholarship do not do as well in college; only 25.7% receive better than a B average and 22.7% fail to complete college. These findings suggest that whatever the factors which are operative in determining the selection of recipients of NSSFN supplementary scholarships (other than need), these are indeed positi related to academic success in college; 9 out of 10 of these students complete college and half of those who complete college will achieve a or better academic average.

SEX

There were more women in the respondent population (53.2%) than men (46.8%); this is also true for the non-respondents (55.1% and 44.7%). Nation-wide, however, men (60%) attend colleges more frequently than women (40%) according to Iffert (16).

The women, furthermore, do significantly better at college than the men by two criteria, grade average and dropout rate. Thus, 36.9% receive B− or better and only 15.5% of the women drop out compared with the 23.9% of the men in the higher academic group and a 22.7% dropout rate among the men. These findings tend to confirm the belief that the generalized pattern of racial discrimination in American society takes a higher toll of Negro males than Negro females.

PRE-COLLEGE TEST SCORES

The predictive efficiency of intelligence tests administered by the high school (primarily in groups) for academic success in college is not good. The median I.Q. score differences between the three groups are small and not in the expected direction (Group B—117.2‡, Group C—114.9, and the DNC group—115.7).

The verbal part of the Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board, on the other hand, while tending to differentiate the academic success groups (Group B has a median score of 534, Group C scores 496.0, and the DNC group scores 475) shows no significant differences. The DNC group (least successful academically), however, scores the highest on the mathematical part of the CEEB examination (537.5)† and the best academic group (B) scores the lowest (477.5). The intermediate academic group scores 481.0.

Further lack of predictive success of pre-college tests is seen on an edition of the SAT made available to NSSFNS by the CEEB for the Southern Project (21). The shorter test was administered to Negro students in segregated high schools in the south, some of whom reappear in this project. As was pointed out then, this test only partially reflects the academic performance of southern Negro students. Although the intermediate academic success group does better on both the verbal and math sub-tests (391 and 371.5) than the best academic group (379.5 and 358.5) and the DNC group (clearly lowest on both parts of the test, 360.0 and 340.0), none of these differences are statistically significant.

In summary, test scores vary in effectiveness for prediction of academic success. More important, however, is the conclusion stated earlier that Negro college students score below the total college population on the SAT and yet complete college successfully at a greater rate. These scores, and those from similar examinations, cannot be used as a basis for predicting the academic success of the Negro students of this sample—or probably Negro students in general—in the same way that they are used to predict college success for more privileged white students. This fact presents a major challenge for admissions officers in weighing the many intangibles—including motivational factors—which influence academic persistence and success of Negro students. *To rely on the alleged predictiveness of test scores in evaluating these students would ignore a major finding of this study and exclude many capable students from college.*

COLLEGE ATTENDED

There is a relationship between academic success and the type of college attended. Thus, at the Ivy League and other prestige colleges, the dropout rate is only 16%* while at non-prestige colleges it is 29%. At the Big Ten the dropout rate is highest (39%). The differences reflect, of course, differences among these colleges in the selective process and criteria involved in application and admission.

Of those students enrolled at prestige colleges other than the Ivy League, 36%* achieve a B— or better average; only 16% in the Ivy League achieve this, while 22% in the Big Ten, and 26% in all others do so.

Geographically, without regard to the type of college, the southern colleges yield the highest dropout rate (36.7%)* and the eastern ones the lowest (21.6%). The midwestern rate (22.8%) is almost equal to the eastern. The colleges in the far West receive few of the total population; of these 32% do not complete college.

College Experiences

Attitude toward College

THE STUDENTS WERE ASKED TO INdicate on the questionnaire the degree of agreement or disagreement with ten statements in the first-person describing general college experiences (the statements and frequencies of response are listed in Table 1 in order of degree of acceptance). A five point scale was used for intensity of acceptance or rejection of the statements.

An examination of the judgments of the total population indicates a very favorable reaction to college experience. Overwhelmingly, the Negro students judged their college experience as a valuable one they would not have wanted to miss (97%, sum of categories 1 and 2). Only slightly less impressive were their ratings of acceptance by the student body (93.1%) and the fairness of the faculty (91.8).

A marked difference in the degree of acceptance of the three statements described above is seen in the fact that while 86.2% emphatically agree that college was a valuable experience (Category 1), only 48.6% and 45.6% use this category to describe the "fairness of the faculty" and their "acceptance by the student body." This might reflect some of the subtleties and complexities involved in the adjustment of these Negro students in interracial colleges.

The generally positive attitude towards college experiences noted above is further confirmed by the practically unanimous rejection of the statement expressing regret at having attended an interracial college (95.8%, sum of categories 4 and 5). A very substantial majority of the students also rejects the statement that it was difficult to keep up with the academic level of others (85.8%) and denies that it was necessary to work harder than the other students to prove that Negroes are not inferior students (82.9%).

The remaining items, while still rejected by more than three-quarters of this sample, are symptomatic of some residual racial problems. A gradual attenuation of the overwhelmingly favorable responses described above is found. These Negro students deny any need to be specially alert because of their race (79.6%, sum of categories 4 and 5); that they meet with embarrassing off-campus situations (79%); and that they were excluded from normal extra-curricular activities (78.4%); and that they could have received as good an education at a segregated college.

Despite the over-all impression of a very favorable college experience, pressures on the Negro student in a predominantly white college community is revealed by the fact that 16.7% report meeting with "embar-

rassing situations off-campus" (categories 1 and 2 summed) and 15.5% state that they were "excluded from normal extracurricular activities," presumably because of race. The undercurrent theme of racial discrimination which conflicts with the major theme of effective integration in academic and social functions is also seen in the degree of agreement with these two statements. Most of the respondents who replied affirmatively to these negative statements did so with the less emphatic category; and conversely those who rejected these items also did so with the less emphatic rejection.

Smaller minorities report the need to be alert because of race (12.8%) and to work harder to disprove Negro "inferiority" (9.4%). The same percentage (9.4) report difficulty keeping up with the academic level of other students. Finally, and somewhat surprising in view of the overwhelmingly acceptance of interracial education, are the 8.8% who believe their education would have been as good in a segregated college.

Although the three groups within the total population are in general agreement in describing their college experiences, comparisons indicate differences among them. There is a definite relationship between academic success and evaluation of their experiences. *On all but one item, the group which did not complete college (DNC) is less enthusiastic about the favorable aspects of college experience and is more likely to report instances of prejudice.* This finding confirms an earlier finding from the Southern Project study (21).

Thus while 80.2% of the DNC group strongly agree college was a valuable, not-to-be-missed experience (Category 1), groups B and C use this category more frequently (87.9% and 87.5% respectively). Similarly, degree of strong feelings of acceptance by the student body is least in the DNC group (41.7%), greatest in the most successful academic group (B) 52.2%, and intermediate for the less successful academic group (43.0%). The same linear relationship between lack of academic success and relatively less approval of college experiences is found in the ratings of faculty fairness, only 38.6% in the DNC group feel strongly that their teachers were fair, the C group is again intermediate with 45.7% ,and the B group reports the strongest agreement (59.2%).*

Even on the statement which expresses regret at attending an interracial college, overwhelmingly rejected by 95% of the total population, when degree of emphatic rejection (Category 5) is examined for the three levels of academic success, it is seen that Group B rejects it most strongly (82.2%) and Group DNC least (66.7%).† Intermediate is Group C (75.4%). The same relationship holds for the item on the need to work harder to prove that the Negro is not inferior. Group B rejects it strongly (46.5%)* and Group DNC least (26.0%); Group C again falls between the two extremes (33.2%).

		Yes, Very Much	Yes		No
	Category	1	2	Sum 1, 2	4
I consider my college experience a most valuable one which I would not have wanted to miss	B	87.9	10.2	98.1	0
	C	87.5	9.4	96.9	.8
	DNC	80.2	15.6	95.8	0
	Total	86.2	10.8	97.0	.4
I feel that I was accepted by the student body	B	52.2	44.0	96.2	0
	C	43.0	48.8	91.8	1.9
	DNC	41.7	50.0	91.7	2.1
	Total	45.6	47.5	93.1	1.4
My teachers were fair and treated me as they treated other students	B	59.2	33.8	93.0	2.5
	C	45.7	47.3	93.0	1.6
	DNC	38.6	47.9	86.5	4.2
	Total	48.6	43.2	91.8	2.3
I met with embarrassing situations when off campus	B	1.9	18.5	20.4	51.6
	C	.4	13.3	13.7	55.9
	DNC	2.1	16.7	18.8	58.3
	Total	1.2	15.5	16.7	55.0
I feel that I was excluded from normal extracurricular activities such as clubs, fraternities	B	1.9	10.2	12.1	38.8
	C	6.2	11.7	17.9	43.0
	DNC	4.2	10.4	14.6	41.7
	Total	4.5	11.0	15.5	41.5
I had to be on the alert most of the time because I am Negro	B	.6	8.3	8.9	62.4
	C	.8	11.3	12.1	54.7
	DNC	5.2	15.6	20.8	51.0
	Total	1.6	11.2	12.8	56.4
I felt it was difficult to keep up with the academic level of other students	B	1.3	3.2	4.5	34.4
	C	1.5	7.8	9.3	52.0
	DNC	3.1	14.6	17.7	47.9
	Total	1.8	7.6	9.4	45.8
I had to work harder than other students to prove that Negroes are not inferior students.	B	.6	6.4	7.0	39.5
	C	1.2	10.2	11.4	48.0
	DNC	3.1	5.2	8.3	56.3
	Total	1.4	8.0	9.4	46.9
I feel that I could have received as good an education in a segregated college.	B	1.9	4.5	6.4	31.9
	C	1.1	5.5	6.6	29.3
	DNC	1.0	17.7	18.7	24.0
	Total	1.4	7.4	8.8	29.1
I regret having decided to attend an interracial college.	B	0	.6	.6	14.0
	C	0	.8	.8	19.5
	DNC	0	1.0	1.0	27.1
	Total	0	.8	.8	19.3

Table 1

ATTITUDE TOWARD COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

IN PERCENTAGES OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT

No Definitely 5	Sum 4, 5	Cannot Decide 3	No Answer
0	0	.6	1.3
0	.8	1.1	1.2
0	0	2.1	2.1
0	.4	1.2	1.4
.6	.6	1.3	1.9
.4	2.3	4.3	1.6
1.0	3.1	4.2	1.0
.6	2.0	3.3	1.6
0	2.5	3.2	1.3
.4	2.0	2.7	2.3
1.0	5.2	7.3	1.0
.4	2.7	3.7	1.8
23.6	75.2	1.9	2.5
26.2	82.1	2.7	1.5
18.7	77.0	2.1	2.1
24.0	79.0	2.3	2.0
42.7	81.5	4.5	1.9
34.8	77.8	2.7	1.6
33.3	75.0	9.4	1.0
36.9	78.4	4.5	1.6
22.9	85.3	4.5	1.3
23.8	78.5	7.4	2.0
21.9	72.9	4.2	2.1
23.2	79.6	5.9	1.7
59.2	93.6	.6	1.3
33.3	85.3	3.9	1.5
27.1	75.0	5.2	2.1
40.1	85.9	3.1	1.6
46.5	86.0	5.7	1.3
33.2	81.2	6.2	1.2
26.0	82.3	7.3	2.1
36.0	82.9	6.3	1.4
52.2	84.1	7.6	1.9
48.4	77.7	14.1	1.6
40.7	64.7	15.6	1.0
48.1	77.2	12.4	1.6
82.2	96.2	1.3	1.9
75.4	94.9	2.7	1.6
66.7	93.8	3.1	2.1
75.8	95.1	2.3	1.8

The greater readiness of the more academically successful groups to perceive a more favorable racial atmosphere is also seen in the low agreement with the statement on the need to remain alert because of color. Only 8.9% in Group B (sum of categories 1 and 2) and 12.1% of group C accept this; 20.8%* of Group DNC, however report consciousness of threat. The statement on exclusion from normal extra-curricular activities is rejected most strongly (42.7%) by Group B (Category 5), followed by Group C (34.8%) and Group DNC (33.3%).

Further evidence of greater racial sensitivity on the part of the DNC group is found in the acceptance of the statement that a segregated education could have been as good as an integrated one (18.7* compared to 6.4 and 6.6%, Groups B and C respectively). Thompson (29) provides information on a selected sample of 20 southern Negro graduate students enrolled at Indiana University. Almost all (95%) believe that education in the south is inferior to the rest of the country and 85% believe integration would alleviate racial problems. This finding is confirmed by the results of Group B and C in this study. Southern students graduating from a segregated college in the southeast, however, prefer a separate but equal school (52%) according to Ragland (23).

The only statement which is not clearly answered as a function of academic success is the one on "off-campus embarrassments." Here, the most successful group reports the greatest agreement (18.5%, categories 1 and 2 summed) while Group C is in the least agreement (13.3%). For once, the DNC group lies between the two (16.7%). The differences are small, however, and in no way contradict the less positive general attitudes of the DNC group. In post-college life, however, these differences in sensitivity to racial problems among the three groups disappear (see p. 48).

Aspects of College Life

The students were asked to rank the most pleasing aspects of their college experience; their responses (Table 2) reflect the fact that the colleges succeeded in their educational mission. "Intellectual stimulation" was ranked first or second by 84.7% of the respondents and 66.2% assigned these ranks to "cultural enrichment." Far below these, but noteworthy, was "interracial contact," ranked first or second by 11.6% of the respondents to give it third place in the list of pleasing experiences.

The items which were ranked lowest (9 or 10) by these students were "chance to meet elite of Negro race" (38.7%) and "chance to meet elite of white race" (32.2%). The fact that these items were generally rejected by these students would seem to suggest that they do not consciously, at

least, see college as a source of direct social contact or mobility and tend to reject any suggestion of this possibility.

"Dating opportunities" emerges as a major dissatisfaction in the college lives of these respondents; 34.4% rank it ninth or tenth. From comments on the questionnaire, it seems that "dating" is more a racial than personal problem. Dissatisfaction is particularly prevalent in colleges with a small Negro population located outside large metropolitan centers. Similarly, the nearly 20% of the students who rank "treatment in the community" low on the scale of pleasantness are also expressing some racial concern.

"Getting away from home," on the other hand, which is ranked low (9 or 10) by 27.3% reflects personal dissatisfaction only indirectly related to race.

When we compare the three groups on affective aspects of college experience, no differences are found between them on the two most pleasing aspects. The DNC group, however, ranks "interracial contact" low (7.3%) more frequently than groups B and C (1.9 and 2.5%); confirming the negativism reported in the previous section. The DNC group ranks "meeting elite of white race" last more often than the other two groups (19.8% use rank 10 compared to 14.7 and 13.3% for groups B and C).

Congruent with the greater rejection of "white elite" by the least successful academic group is its unwillingness to reject meeting the "Negro elite"; only 6.3%* rank this last while groups B and C use rank ten 15.3 and 14.8% of the time. This suggests that these two items reflect some aspect of racial feelings or conflicts. The contrast between the DNC group and the other two groups is consistent with the greater racial sensitivity of the DNC group reported earlier and also found in the Southern Project (21).

The greater hostility of the DNC group toward whites is seen in the degree to which they assign low ranks of pleasantness (9 and 10) to "acceptance by faculty" (11.5%)*; the more successful academic groups hardly use these ranks (1.9 and 3.9%). Less clearly, but in the same direction, is the greater use of the least pleasing rank (10) for "treatment in the community" by the DNC group (14.6%)† than the other groups (8.3 and 12.1%).

Paradoxically, the least successful group reports greater satisfaction in social relationships than the other two; 4.1% ‡ rank "dating opportunities" first or second compared to 1.9% in Group B and none in Group C. Centi (4) found that poor achievers at Fordham spent significantly more time on activities outside of school than high achievers.

The more successful groups evidently contribute most to the dis-

		% Using Rank		
		1	2	Sum 1, 2
Intellectual Stimulation	B	65.9	18.4	84.3
	C	69.1	17.6	86.7
	DNC	61.4	18.8	80.2
	Total	66.7	18.0	84.7
Cultural Enrichment	B	16.5	45.9	62.4
	C	15.2	52.7	67.9
	DNC	18.8	49.0	67.8
	Total	16.3	49.9	66.2
Interracial Contacts	B	2.6	7.0	9.6
	C	4.7	7.8	12.5
	DNC	2.1	10.4	12.5
	Total	3.5	8.1	11.6
Social Activities	B	.6	8.3	8.9
	C	0	6.3	6.3
	DNC	5.2	5.2	10.4
	Total	1.2	6.7	7.9
Acceptance by Faculty	B	0	8.9	8.9
	C	2.0	5.1	7.1
	DNC	3.1	3.1	6.2
	Total	1.6	5.9	7.5
Chance to get away from home.	B	2.6	.6	3.2
	C	2.0	3.1	5.1
	DNC	5.1	3.1	8.2
	Total	2.7	2.3	5.0
Treatment in the Community	B	1.9	.6	2.5
	C	.8	1.6	2.4
	DNC	1.0	3.1	4.1
	Total	1.2	1.6	2.8
Dating Opportunities	B	0	1.9	1.9
	C	0	0	0
	DNC	1.0	3.1	4.1
	Total	.2	1.2	1.4
Chance to meet elite of Negro race	B	0	0	0
	C	.4	.8	1.2
	DNC	2.1	1.0	3.1
	Total	.6	.6	1.2
Chance to meet elite of white race	B	0	0	0
	C	0	0	0
	DNC	1.0	1.0	2.0
	Total	.2	.2	.4

Table 2

AFFECTIVE ASPECTS OF COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

% Using Rank		
9	10	Sum 9, 10
0	.6	.6
.4	0	.4
0	1.0	1.0
.2	.4	.6
.6	0	.6
0	0	0
3.1	1.0	4.1
.8	.2	1.0
1.3	.6	1.9
2.3	.4	2.7
5.2	2.1	7.3
2.6	.8	3.4
7.6	4.5	12.1
5.5	2.3	7.8
6.3	6.3	12.6
6.3	3.7	10.0
1.9	0	1.9
3.9	0	3.9
9.4	2.1	11.5
4.3	.4	4.7
5.7	17.8	23.5
7.8	19.9	27.7
9.3	22.7	32.0
7.5	19.8	27.3
12.1	8.3	20.4
6.3	12.1	18.4
4.2	14.6	18.8
7.7	11.4	19.1
12.7	22.9	35.6
15.2	22.7	37.9
13.5	9.4	22.9
14.2	20.2	34.4
31.8	15.3	47.1
24.2	14.8	39.0
17.7	6.3	24.0
25.3	13.4	38.7
12.1	14.7	26.8
21.1	13.3	34.4
15.6	19.8	35.4
17.3	14.9	32.2

satisfaction with dating opportunities reported earlier as ranked ninth or tenth by 34.4% of the total population. Only 9.4%* of the DNC group rank this last whereas Group B and C use the last rank much more frequently (22.9 and 22.7%).

The greater appreciation of "social activities" by the least successful academic group is seen in the 5.2%* who rank this aspect of college experience most pleasing (rank 1) compared with the minute .6% of B and none in Group C.

Extra-Curricular Activities

Earlier, it was pointed out that only 15.5% of the students felt excluded from normal extra-curricular activities. When the students were asked to describe such activities on another part of the questionnaire, about two-thirds listed three or more. Only 7.5% reported no activity; 12.4% listed only one and 14.7% reported two. These findings suggest a marked degree of integration in extra-curricular activities as well as in the classroom.

Confirming the integration outside the classroom is the fact that the most frequently cited activities were social (18.7%) and student government (14.0%). Closely following were sports (13.7), musical or dramatic activities (11.3%), and academic societies (10.9%). Only four per cent reported participation in political clubs.

That participation was not passive is indicated by the fact that 75% of the respondents report offices held in extra-curricular activities and one-third report awards or honors received. The evidence points to the fact that these Negro college students become involved in leadership roles in extra-curricular activities.

There was evidence earlier that the better the academic performance, the less feelings of exclusion from extra-curricular activities were reported. When we examine the number and kind of activities reported the objective evidence strongly suggests a very marked difference between the three groups of students. Thus 19.8%* of the DNC group report no extra-curricular activity, whereas only 3.8% in Group B and 5.1% in Group C do so. The same pattern of minimal participation with less academic success is seen in those reporting only one activity; 19.8% of the DNC† group compared to 7.7% and 12.5% in Groups B and C. At the other extreme, maximum participation (five or more extra-curricular activities listed) is greatest with Group B (37.6%) and least with DNC group (8.3%)*, with Group C much closer to the former than the latter (30.9%).

The kind of activity engaged in is also related to degree of academic success. The DNC group reports more participation in sports and social

activities (40.6%* combined) than does Group B, (21.7%), while Group C (25.4%) is intermediate, which fits with the earlier reported greater satisfaction from social activities. In student government and political clubs, however, the better academic groups report more participation than the DNC group. The most concrete evidence, however, is in the leadership roles of the three groups, 52.3%* of the DNC group report no office while only 16.1% and 23.0%‡ of groups B and C are mere members. Similar, but not so pronounced differences, are found for honors or awards; 77.0%* report none in Group DNC, whereas 60.5 and 66.5% of Groups B and C report none. In summary it is again seen that the more academically successful students are more likely to participate in certain types of extra-curricular activities and are more likely to assume leadership roles in these activities and receive honors and awards related to them.

Undergraduate Financing

Obviously, the low income of their parents (median $4247) makes it necessary for these Negro students to meet the costs of college in ways that supplement the family contribution (only 2.3% report that their costs were met entirely by their families). As a matter of fact, only 24.9% more report any family aid while more than half of these who received help from the family state that it was less than one-third of the total cost. Scholarships granted prior to the freshman year and part-time employment constitute the major sources of college financing (26.0% and 25.2% respectively) for these students. The implication of this fact for educational success is challenging and disturbing—more than half of these students could not have attended college without a full subsidy and/or employment. Plaut (22) has estimated in 1956 that only 1% of the 1800 colleges in the United States can give full scholarships (including room and board); only about 20% can give full tuition scholarships.

The other major category of financing college is through loans, 11.9% do so and none of them are Federal loans. A very small number (.6%) report scholarship aid after the first year. Equally minute is the percentage (.4) of those who receive subsidy as ex-servicemen. A small percentage (8.6%) either do not answer this item or do not specify their source for college financing.

White college students, however, finance college very differently according to Hollis reported in Iffert (16): 40% of the costs are defrayed by parents (or relatives) and another 20% from trust funds and savings; only 14% is obtained through scholarships and 26% from employment.

The seriousness of this problem is seen in the fact that unless a student's entrance qualifications are so high that substantial scholarship aid

is offered to him, he may not be able to enter college because of his inability to meet college costs. There is no way to determine the number of potentially good college students who cannot even consider college and are lost to the pool of trained intellectual manpower available to our society by this form of economic exclusion.

We can only speculate on the effect of financial insecurity on Negro students' academic performance. It seems to us that, on the whole, white students are aware that educational money will be forthcoming year after year; the Negro students can never feel this secure.

In School Employment

Only 19.8% report no employment while at college and another 1.2% report summer employment only; the great majority report some kind of employment in the regular academic year (74.7%; less than 4% did not answer this item).

The amount of time spent on the job varied; 21.4% report 7 or fewer hours a week, 19.8% report 8–14 hours, 16.0% worked 15–21 hours. Almost ten per cent report more than 21 hours a week; this amount approaches full-time employment. The relationship between academic success and excessive outside employment is seen in the 16.7%† of the DNC group who worked 22 hours or more and the 3.2% of the most successful group who did so. The intermediate academic success group confirms the relationship (10.6% worked more than 22 hours). Clearly, the least successful groups' academic performance is partially explained by the employment load carried simultaneously with the academic one.

Over 80% of the employed students report that their job is not in their area of study. Employment must be considered therefore, primarily as a response to financial need and not as a training aspect of college. Only 1% report employment as a part of the curriculum (they are all in the B group).

When asked if employment interfered with academic performance, 64.3% replied in the negative and 23.3% responded affirmatively. Many could not decide how to answer this question (11.1%) and the rest did not answer.

There was a marked relationship between a belief that outside employment lowered academic achievement and degree of academic success; quite naturally, the least successful group felt most hindered and the most successful group least, with the intermediate group between them. Thus only 51.3% of the DNC replied "no" to the question, compared to 62.7% of group C and 75.7%* of Group B.

Before one concludes, however, that subjective feelings of lowered

achievement because of employment are a rationalization for failure on the part of the DNC group, it should be pointed out that they work longer than the other two groups. Furthermore, their academic aptitude is less so that those least able to afford time away from study must work the most.

Several studies (3, 4, 30) have indicated that in-college employment does not adversely affect grades. Hall (12) reports, on the other hand, that low-achievement students with superior ability at the University of California attribute their lack of success to need for employment. It seems to us that the income level of Negroes which forces greater employment in college makes comparisons with studies on whites difficult, if not misleading. Nor is it easy to compare this sample of Negro college students with those in the Southern Project (21) where it was found that in-school employment bore no relationship to academic success in the first year of college. That was a highly selected sample of southern students who were provided specialized counseling and who were not studied after the first year. Our findings clearly suggest a relationship between excessive employment and poor college performance.

Post College Adjustment

ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT GOALS of this study was to determine the adjustment made by these students after they graduated or left college. It is generally assumed that the results of a college education are in some ways to be reflected in the quality of post-college life. It is difficult, if not impossible, to measure aspects of life which are presumed to be enhanced by college training such as deepened perspectives and insight or significant contributions to society. In an attempt to obtain some clues as to the effects of college experience on these students, this study sought to investigate the following areas of post-college experience: 1) present family structure; 2) employment pattern; 3) community activities; 4) significant social issues discussed; 5) post-college or graduate training; 6) military service.

Present Family Status

Slightly more than half of our respondents are still unmarried (53.2%) and almost half are married (42.6%). Interestingly enough, the divorce and separation rates are minute (.6 and 1.2%) and are lower than the national averages (9). The modal number of years married is one or less (26.3%), with almost equal numbers married for two and three years (21.2% and 19.4%). Almost a third have been married for more than three years (28.5%). The median age at the time of response to the questionnaire was 26 years; 40% of the married respondents are childless and 37.8% report one child. Only 14.7% report two offspring and 6% have three children.

The similarity between our respondents and the persons they marry in terms of educational and professional attainment is striking. With the exception of 2.3% of the spouses who did not complete high school and the 19.4% who merely received a high school diploma, all the others have college and post-college training (21.6% completed and 19.4% attended college; 29% have post-graduate training). The spouse population has a higher proportion in blue-collar employment (9.5%) than do the respondents (1%). In general in both educational and professional achievement, despite their similarities, the spouse population is slightly below the respondent student group.

Marriage between equals may be one reason why the divorce and

separation rate is so low. Another possible explanation is the greater acceptance of middle-class values about marriage in well educated Negroes (10,28). It is also possible that our population is made up of persons of above average stability.

Most of the respondents live in rented quarters (39.5% in apartments, 7.9% in rooms, and 6.7% in houses). A large number (24.3%) live with relatives; a partial explanation for this lies in the housing available to young, unmarried Negroes of either sex (discrimination in housing is the most frequently reported example of major discrimination; see p. 48). Of the 43 (8.4%) who report that they own their homes most have paid between $10,000—$15,000 (4.9%); only 20% report homes valued under $10,000. A positive index of economic success is observed in the 16.3% who own homes valued over $25,000 and the 18.5% reporting homes between $15,000 and $25,000.

For those renting quarters, more than half of those who responded pay $50–99 a month (45.7%); 14.1% pay more than $100 and 27.1% pay less than $50.

Geographically, the post-college respondents now live predominantly in the east (43.5% in New England, N.Y., Pa., and N.J.) and mid-west (23.1%). A little more than a fifth of the sample now live in the south (23.2%) although 40.8% were born there. At the time of high school graduation, 30.8% resided in the south. Attendance at an interracial college tends to accelerate the migration from the south.

Employment Pattern

A critical measure of post-college adjustment and performance is the employment history of Negro students. Results from the questionnaire indicate that public employment is the predominant type; 40.6% are in federal, state, or local government; 12.1% are in "semi-public" occupations (hospitals, private schools, etc.), and only 11.1% are in private enterprise. A minute percentage (.4%) are self-employed, evenly divided between professions and business. The predominance of public service as the characteristic area of employment is made even clearer when we consider that 35.8% of the respondents could not be classified; 9.8% because they omitted this question and 26.0% because they were in military service, were full-time graduate students or housewives.

The jobs reported by these respondents are generally considered high level jobs rather than routine ones. Of the 63.1% whose duties could be classified, more than half, (37.8%) were engaged in professional positions; 23.7% in teaching and 14.1% in other professions (physician, pharmacist, lawyer, engineer, case worker, etc.). Semi-professional occupations (drafts-

man, computer programmer, laboratory technician, etc.) accounted for 14.4%. White collar jobs, secretarial or clerical, were held by 5.4% while 2.3% were non-clerical white collar workers (executive or managerial). Only 1% were in blue-collar jobs (.4 skilled and .6 semi-skilled) and even fewer (.4%) were in sales.

The students who responded to the questionnaire have, as a group, achieved an impressive occupational level. American society benefits directly and indirectly from the contributions made by these college-trained Negroes.

The job classifications do not support the long held stereotypes of Negro employment. The college-educated Negro is no longer required to be a Pullman porter, janitor, or menial. He is an integral part of the governmental service at a professional level and has some token representation in the private sectors of the economy. College education has made it possible for this population to contribute to American society through public service and it is doing so.

If we compare the three groups which differ in academic success by type of employment and nature of duties presently performed, clear differences emerge. Governmental service is entered more by the best academic group (46.5%) and least by the DNC one (28.9%);* with the middle group much closer to the first than the second (41.5%). Conversely, employment in private industry is associated with less academic success—the DNC group is most represented (29.9%)† in this category and Group B is least (19.1%), with Group C intermediate (23.2%). It is likely that the greater proportion of the DNC's in private industry is in the lower status and routine jobs. If we exclude the "semi-public" of the private employers (hospitals, private schools), the relationship is even more striking, only 6.4% of Group B and 9.7% of Group C are in the world of business, compared to the 22.7%* of Group DNC there.

The differences between the three groups are greater in type of duties than in kind of employer and are in the expected directions. Groups B and C are equally represented in the professions (41.4 and 41.7%) which far surpass the DNC group (17.5%).* It is also seen that most of the white collar positions (both managerial and secretarial) come from the least successful academic group (19.6%);* groups B and C each contribute 5% to this category. Neither of the better academic groups report any blue-collar jobs; the DNC group reports 5.2%.

It is clear, then, that academic success has a marked influence on the kind of position held after graduation; higher status jobs and greater opportunity for public service are dependent upon successful completion of college.

The number of jobs held since graduation is small, reflecting both the relative recency of college departure and also perhaps the general

pattern of stability among these respondents. More than half reporting employment (57%) have held only one job, 30% report two, and only 13% report three or more jobs. A comparison between the first job held and the present one reported reveals no differences in type of duties or kind of employer. College is evidently the preparatory process for the kind of occupation entered.

Upward mobility is seen in promotions and salary increases, not by marked change in employment. Thus, 74% of the population report either a promotion or a raise or both since graduation. The present median income reported is $438 per month, an increase of $52 over the first salary earned.[6]

Community Activities

After graduation, most of the Negro students participate in community affairs. Only 18.1% state that they are not, at the time of filling out the questionnaire, engaged in some type of community activity.

The predominant areas are religious (checked by 30.7% of the total population) and civil rights (20%). Only 4.8% check political activity as distinct from Negro rights. A wide scattering of other areas (none chosen more than 5%) are also indicated.

In general, there are no significant differences in community engagement between the three academic groups. The greatest difference found is in the area of Negro rights; the greater the academic success, the greater the participation in this area. In group B, 24.1% report activity in this area, compared with 19.6% in Group C and 12.5% in DNC. † It is of some interest to note that it was the DNC group that was verbally most disturbed by racial problems while in college—but this group has the lowest percentage of civil rights activity after college.

Evidently, engagement for these students means membership in an organization. When asked to list memberships in organizations, 82.7% list specific organizations (excluding academic and professional ones). Religious organizations are indicated by 31.6%; civic and political ones make up the other major grouping (22.4%). Social and recreational groups (lodges, fraternities, sports, etc.) are next (11.8%). Organizations working with youth are listed by 4.5% of the respondents.

A measure of the degree of involvement in community affairs was derived from the responses of the students. A person actively involved in community affairs was defined as one who not only is a member of an

[6] There does not seem to be any relationship between salary and academic success; Group B reports the lowest median income ($417); the other two groups hardly differ, Group C reporting $467 and the DNC group $455.

organization specifically oriented toward political or civic improvement, but participates frequently in at least one or helds a responsible office in such a group. The other extreme—an uninvolved person—was defined as one who either belongs to no organizations or only to social and recreational groups. An intermediate category called "participants" was also established; such a person is a member of several community organizations, participates infrequently in civic or political activities, but is active in non-political organizations (such as charitable drives). It should be noted that whenever there was doubt, "active" was considered the more exclusive category and doubtful cases were assigned to "participants."

Under these rules; three-quarters of the Negro students are found to be uninvolved, with only 2% active and 4.9% participating members (the rest were not ascertainable). The 6.9% who are involved and committed to community betterment are noteworthy, particularly if their youth and recency of graduation are taken into account.

Again, when we examine the three groups, there is a slight relationship between academic success and the degree of involvement in community affairs. More of the DNC group is uninvolved (82.3%) than Group B (72.0%) or Group C (74.2%) and conversely, while 2.5 and 2.3% of Groups B and C are active, none in the DNC group are. Our data suggest that the respondents are not active participants in the civil rights or other social justice movements. Negro college students at segregated colleges in the south probably have a higher proportion in these movements. One can speculate whether a substantial number of effective participants can be expected to come from the Negro students who have been educated in northern interracial colleges.

Membership in academic or professional organizations was obtained and treated separately from community affairs. About two-thirds of the respondents report membership in these organizations, with most of them in the professional category (39.2%); 3.3% list membership in academic organizations, 1.4% in organizations which are both academic and professional; and 4.6 indicate membership in groups that are not ascertainable.

The relationship between academic success and involvement in community affairs is made clearer by the greater association of these factors in academic and professional organizations. Thus, while 45.4 and 42.9% of groups B and C indicate affiliation with professional groups, only 18.5%* of the DNC group do so. Similarly, academic organizations are listed most by Group B (6.7%),* next by Group C (2.3%), and by none in the DNC Group. In fact, 57.3%* of the latter group indicate no membership at all, compared to 27.0% in Group B and 35.6% in Group C.

Social Issues

What problems do the Negro students discuss with their friends and family? To ascertain these, the respondents were asked to list the issues discussed in order of their importance.

Two separate analyses were made; one for personal and local issues and the other for general national and international ones. These will be discussed separately.

Four major categories were set up for the personal and local issues listed by the respondent: 1) *self* in relation to a) family and close friends and b) colleagues and job; 2) *status of the Negro* in a) own community, b) the south, c) the nation generally, and d) the world; 3) *minorities in general* in a) the nation and b) the world; and 4) *the general community* subdivided into a) social and civic, b) economic, and c) political. The percentage for each of the sub-categories of the complete listing of local and personal issues as well as those listed first are given in Table 3; examples of each sub-category are also presented there in parentheses.

The most frequently listed major category is the status of the Negro; 36.8% of the issues listed are concerned with this problem. This problem is recognized as a national one by the respondents; more than half of the instances are in this category, with only 4.6% dealing with the local community and 3.3% with the south specifically. Race is seen as an international problem by the 9.5% who are concerned with the Negro in the rest of the world. The saliency of the race issue is seen in the fact that 25.2% list this issue first.

Next in frequency are the personal issues which are discussed with close friends and relatives. Almost a quarter of all the entries fall in this category (23.6%). The small percentage (11.9) who list this category first are obviously little concerned with substantive issues and somewhat egocentric in world view.

General community problems get a little more than token listing (14.3%), and are obviously not of paramount concern, only 4.3% list these first).

Very few report discussion of the problem of minorities in general (4.3%) and hardly any list this first (1.6%). Their concern is specifically related to the problems of the Negro.

All three academic groups are alike; differences between them are small and without any clear pattern. The Negro students' reaction to issues is more a function of their race than of their academic achievement. It will be remembered that although the least successful academic group is more ready to report discriminatory practices in colleges than the

		Percent All Listed (including 1st)		Percent Listed First	
Self					
a. Family and Close Friends (work, marriage, interests)	B	15.6		5.1	
	C	15.5		9.4	
	DNC	16.6		7.3	
	Total	15.8		7.6	
b. Colleagues and Friends (staff affairs, school, church)	B	8.9		5.1	
	C	7.7		3.9	
	DNC	6.1		4.2	
	Total	7.8		4.3	
Sum a and b			23.6		11.9
Negro					
a. In own Community (housing, job opportunities)	B	5.8		3.8	
	C	4.0		2.3	
	DNC	3.7		0	
	Total	4.6		2.4	
b. In the South (sit-ins, any specific reference)	B	4.6		1.3	
	C	3.6		.8	
	DNC	0		0	
	Total	3.3		.8	
c. In the Nation (Civil rights, integration)	B	20.5		15.3	
	C	18.4		14.4	
	DNC	20.2		17.7	
	Total	19.4		15.3	
d. In the World (Africa, Congo)	B	7.3		7.0	
	C	10.3		6.6	
	DNC	11.7		6.3	
	Total	9.5		6.7	
Sum a, b, c, d			36.8		25.2

Table 3

LOCAL AND PERSONAL ISSUES DISCUSSED

		Percent All Listed (including 1st)		Percent Listed First	
Minorities					
a. In the Nation (Human rights)	B	.6		0	
	C	1.6		0	
	DNC	.6		1.0	
	Total	1.1		.2	
b. In the World (Asia, Africa, undeveloped)	B	4.3		1.3	
	C	3.0		1.2	
	DNC	1.8		2.1	
	Total	3.2		1.4	
Sum a and b			4.3		1.6
General Community					
a. Social and Civic (school improvement, juvenile delinquency)	B	3.7		2.6	
	C	4.6		2.3	
	DNC	4.3		1.0	
	Total	4.3		2.1	
b. Economic (unemployment, high costs)	B	1.5		.6	
	C	3.6		.8	
	DNC	4.3		0	
	Total	3.1		.5	
c. Political (party affairs, local politics)	B	8.2		1.9	
	C	6.1		1.2	
	DNC	6.8		2.1	
	Total	6.9		1.6	
Sum a, b, and c			14.3		4.3
None of Above	B	9.8		36.9	
	C	10.3		35.2	
	DNC	10.4		35.4	
	Total	10.1		35.8	
No Answer	B	9.2		19.1	
	C	11.3		21.9	
	DNC	13.5		22.9	
	Total	10.9		21.2	

more successful groups, after graduation, all three groups are equal in their report of major discriminations. There is little evidence, however that more than a small proportion translate this common experience into active participation in civil rights groups.

The general national and international issues of concern and interest are listed in Table 4. International affairs (37.4%) are cited more frequently than national issues (29.1%). The greater interest in international affairs is seen more clearly in the frequency these are listed first by the respondents; world problems are so listed almost three times as often as national ones.

The most frequently mentioned sub-category, by far, is world peace (31.3%) which is almost double the next category (political issues, 16.9%). The lack of interest in outer space, despite the wide publicity, is indicated by the scant mention (1.7%) with none first. It would be interesting to compare a white college population with ours on these issues.

As in personal and local issues, no clear picture of difference between the three groups emerges. Of interest is the slightly greater incidence and saliency of economic issues in the DNC group and its relative lack of interest in social and political issues. The general conclusion, however, is that academic performance differences are not reflected in issues discussed with friends.

An explanation of the attitudes and interests of the respondents may be found in the fact that they do not escape prejudice in their post-college life. The great majority of students (74.8%) report at least one *major* form of social discrimination after leaving college. Most frequently reported forms of discrimination are in housing (19.5%), job application (15.3%) and public accommodations (10.6%).

The differences in degree of sensitivity to racial problems which differentiated the three groups in their college adjustment, no longer seem to exist in their post college perspective, experiences, or adjustment. Although fewer of the DNC group report no major discrimination (23.1%) than in Groups B and C (27.7 and 26.3%), all differences are small and do not reflect any clear relationship between degree of academic success and reports of discriminatory behavior. There is some suggestion of differences in the pattern of discrimination which is experienced or reported. The DNC group is more conscious of discrimination in job application, unions, and the armed services; the best academic group, Group B, leads the others in reporting discrimination in housing and public accommodation, while Group C reports having experienced discrimination in recreation.

A final indication of the nature and quality of the Negro college graduate's concern for the nation and world is in his report of newspapers

Table 4

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES DISCUSSED

		Percent All Listed (inc. 1st)		Percent Listed First	
General World					
a. Cuba and Laos	B	2.7		1.2	
	C	4.5		1.5	
	DNC	3.7		0	
	Total	3.8		1.2	
b. War and Peace The A-Bomb	B	32.4		17.9	
	C	30.3		15.2	
	DNC	32.1		19.8	
	Total	31.3		16.9	
c. Outer Space	B	3.1		0	
	C	1.3		0	
	DNC	.7		0	
	Total	1.7		0	
d. Social and Health	B	.7		0	
	C	.5		.4	
	DNC	.7		0	
	Total	.6		.2	
Sum of a, b, c, and d			37.4		18.3
General National					
a. Social					
	B	9.2		3.2	
	C	6.0		1.6	
	DNC	4.3		0	
	Total	6.8		1.8	
b. Economic	B	4.2		0	
	C	5.0		.8	
	DNC	7.3		2.1	
	Total	5.1		.8	
c. Political	B	16.4		5.1	
	C	18.3		3.9	
	DNC	13.9		2.1	
	Total	16.9		3.9	
d. General	B	.7		0	
	C	0		0	
	DNC	0		0	
	Total	.3		0	
Sum of a, b, c, and d			29.1		6.5
Others and No Answer	B	30.6		72.6	
	C	34.1		76.6	
	DNC	37.3		76.0	
	Total	33.4		75.2	

and magazines read. Only 10.6% deny reading any newspaper and 5.8% report that they do not read any magazine regularly. They are practically unanimous (99.8%) in reporting that they do *not* read any Negro newspaper regularly. Over one-third reported that they read a large national newspaper regularly.

The general family magazine (*Look, Life, Reader's Digest*) is most frequently reported (21.1%), with the general news magazines (*Time, Newsweek*) a very close second (20.9%). Magazines addressed primarily to Negro audiences were read regularly by 11.9% of these respondents. Closely following in order are professional and technical ones (9.6%) and women's magazines (8.9%). If we combine the clearly political journals (*Nation, New Republic, Reporter*) with the more literary journals of comment (*Atlantic, Harper's*), the 8.9% who report these are a function of academic success; 12.6% of groups B, 7.9% group C, and only 4.4%† for the DNC group read these. Similarly, the DNC group hardly reads professional or technical journals (4.8%) whereas the other two groups (B and C) report 1 .1 and 10.3% in this category.

In general, the newspaper and periodical reading pattern of these respondents seems similar to that of other middle class Americans.

Graduate Training

Almost a quarter of the respondents (24.6%) were attending graduate school when the questionnaire was filled out; only 36.6% had never received any post-college training. Graduate degrees were received by 20.9% of the students; 15% M.A., 2.2% PH.D., and 3.7% other (M.D., R.N. etc.). The leading fields of graduate study were science (physical and biological)[7], and teaching (19.2% each). Social science and applied fields, other than law, engineering, etc., were each entered by 8.4%, closely followed by humanities and arts (8.0%). Law and social work accounted for 7.7 and 6.9% respectively. Almost half (47.5%) did their graduate work at prestige institutions. Geographically, eastern universities were attended by 43.6%, 21.0% were at mid-western schools, 20.3% in southern, and only 7.9 in the far west.

The better academic group (B) achieved more graduate degrees (27.3%) than the poorer (18.2%) and fewer did not attend graduate school (27.9% and 39.4%); both are statistically significant. The DNC

[7] Teaching was chosen by 20% of white college seniors (8) planning to enter graduate school, followed by 13% in the humanities; science is hardly chosen. The fact that science specialization at the graduate level equals teaching may be a sign that the Negro is breaking out of his former professional role. Critics who ask where are the Negro scientists may find the answer in a few years.

group reports 9.9%† advanced degrees, but 60%† do not attend graduate school. (See p. 15 to account for the seeming paradox of some in the DNC group receiving a graduate degree.)

For those who started graduate work and dropped out, only 3.7% stated they left because of academic difficulties. Financial reasons were cited by 20.4%; the same percentage checked personal reasons. One third offered no reason for leaving.

Financial support for graduate education came primarily from the national organizations (28.9%), and foundations (15.0%). Local community groups (school and industry) were reported to have given financial aid by 18.3% of the respondents. The undergraduate college helped 10.6% and NSSFNS supplied negligible aid, .7%.

The earlier discussion of college financing (p. 37) must be kept in mind when interpreting the graduate rate. The Negro college student is poorer than the white and graduate study is contingent upon subsidy or employment; family funds are simply not available in most cases. Davis and Bradburn (8) report that Negro students and those from low income families are likely to postpone graduate study.

Military Service

Military service is not a major characteristic of post-graduate experience. Only 18.5% reported service; most of these (10.6%) were in the Army with less than 3% in the other branches. Because more than half of the students were women and because higher education is grounds for deferment, it is not at all surprising that less than a fifth serve in the military forces of the nation. The group that did not complete college shows the highest rate of service (31.2%* and the best academic group the least (10.1%)*; intermediate, as expected, is Group C (18.8%).*

What is surprising is that almost all those who serve do so in units that are predominantly white (16.0% of the 18.5%), only .6% are in segregated units. It would seem for this population at least, that almost complete military integration has been achieved. This probably reflects the successful racial desegregation of the armed services. Furthermore, 34.5% of those reporting highest rank achieved were commissioned officers and 13.3% were non-commissioned officers. That almost half of the Negro students receive promotions speaks well for the utilization made by the armed services of these students.

Military service is another aspect of post-graduate adjustment where the DNC group suffers in comparison with the other groups; 20.8%* in the group remain at the lowest rank while only 2.5% and 7.8% of groups B and C respectively are unpromoted.

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Appendix A

Comparisons of respondents and non-respondents and correlates of academic success in pooled populations.

Differences between respondents and non-respondents

	respondents (512)	non-respondents (769)
dropout rate	18.7[a]	43.2%
I.Q. median	116	111
high school percentile standing	90[a]	85
median grade average (H.S.)	3.75[a]	3.58
CEEB verbal	511.5	475.0
mathematical	486.6	461.3
median income (family)	$4208[a]	$3762
median college grade average	2.6[a]	2.4
father in blue-collar job (percentage)	15.6[a]	31.6

[a]Difference statistically significant at .05 level.

Correlates of academic success (degree achievement)

GRADES AND TEST SCORES

	Success (degree)	Failure (dropout)
median H.S. grade average	3.5[a]	3.2
I.Q. median (H.S.)	114.6	112.0
CEEB SAT verbal	507.1[a]	453.1
mathematical	473.5	476.5
CEEB SAT verbal	381.5	377.0
(NSSFNS) mathematical	361.5	352.9
median college grade average	2.6[a]	1.9

FAMILY INCOME

		Success	Failure
median family income		$4039[a]	$3362
income distribution			
	N	%	
poor (0–2999)	171	59.2[b]	
average (3000–5999)	403	66.2	
above average (6000–8999)	110	80.9	
rich	29	57.8	

[b]Significantly different from next two groups.

MAJOR FIELD IN COLLEGE

	% success	N
social science	91.5	200
social work	87.5	8
teaching	83.9	211

MAJOR FIELD IN COLLEGE (*continued*)

	% success	N
humanities	82.1	234
physical and biological science	78.7	183
applied fields (other)	75.7	193
mathematics and statistics	73.9	23
law	60.3	5
engineering	52.9[e]	80

[e]Significantly different from all other except law.

SCHOLARSHIP SOURCE

	% success
none	68.2[d]
other	73.3
college	74.6
NSSFNS	83.7[d]

[d]Significantly different from all other groups.

SEX

	% success
female	69.4[a]
male	63.4

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

	% success
white collar	77.9
professional	75.3
sales and service	69.0
unskilled blue collar	64.3
skilled blue collar	62.4[e]

[e]Significantly different from first two.

PARENTS' COLLEGE ATTENDANCE

	% success
both attend	82.7[b]
one attended	67.5
neither attend	73.5

TYPE OF COLLEGE

	% success
Ivy League	79.5[f]
other prestige	73.7[f]
other	62.4
Big Ten	56.8

[f]Significantly different from last two groups.

GEOGRAPHICAL (HIGH SCHOOL)

	% success
South Atlantic states	73.8
New England states	69.4
West North Central states	68.7
Middle Atlantic states	67.3
East South Central states	66.7
East North Central states	65.2
Mountain states	57.1
Pacific states	50.0
West South Central states	47.4

Appendix B

Statistical Tests of Significance at .05 level or less.

Code for asterisk notation:

* significantly different from other two groups

† significantly different from Group B

‡ significantly different from Group C

If no asterisk appears in comparisons within the three groups, the differences are not statistically significant unless stated in the text.

	Group	Page	Code
fail to indicate field of study	DNC	22	*
major in humanities	B	22	*
major in social science	DNC	22	*
born in south	DNC	23	†
high school region	B	23	‡
A average in high school	B	23	*
family income below $1000	DNC	24	*
blue collar occupations	B	24	*
no occupation (mother)	DNC	24	*
neither parent attend college	DNC	24	*
both attend, one degree	DNC	25	†
complete college	scholarship vs non-scholarship	25	*
median IQ	B	25	‡
CEEB math	DNC	26	†
dropout rate	Ivy League vs Big 10	26	*
dropout	south vs east and mid-west	27	*
faculty fairness	B	29	*
regret attending integrated college	DNC	29	†
need to work harder	B	29	*
need to remain alert	DNC	32	*
segregated college as good	DNC	32	*
"Negro elite"	DNC	33	*
acceptance by faculty	DNC	33	*
treatment in community	DNC	33	†
dating opportunities (1 and 2)	DNC	33	‡
dating opportunities (9 and 10)	DNC	36	*
social activities	DNC	36	*
no extra-curricular activity	DNC	36	*
one extra-curricular activity	DNC	36	†
five or more extra-curricular activities	DNC	36	*
sports and social	DNC	37	*

	Group	Page	Code
no office	DNC	37	*
no honors	DNC	37	*
work 22 hours	DNC	38	†
believe work hindered	B	38	*
governmental service	DNC	42	*
private industry	DNC	42	†
world of business	DNC	42	*
professional	DNC	42	*
white collar	DNC	42	*
Negro rights	DNC	43	†
professional organization	DNC	44	*
academic organization	B	44	*
no membership	DNC	44	*
intellectual magazine	DNC	50	†
advanced degrees	DNC	51	†
no graduate school	DNC	51	†
rate of military service	all	51	*

Appendix C

Colleges Attended*	Total	Group B	Group C	Group DNC
City College of New York	18	0	15	3
Ohio State University	14	3	9	2
Harvard University	12	2	8	2
University of Illinois	11	3	3	5
University of Michigan	11	2	5	4
Iona College	10	2	6	2
Oberlin College	10	4	5	1
Blackburn College	9	6	3	0
Wayne University	8	3	3	2
Berea College	7	4	1	2
Temple University	7	3	2	2
Lafayette College	7	3	2	2
Antioch College	7	7	0	0
Dartmouth College	7	5	2	0
Amherst College	7	1	5	1
Bradley University	6	1	4	1
Wellesley College	6	3	3	0
Syracuse University	6	1	4	1
Ohio Wesleyan Univ.	6	1	5	0
Pennsylvania State Univ.	6	1	4	1

*Not listed are the 36 colleges which had two students and the 87 institutions with only one.

Univ. of Pittsburgh	6	0	3	3
D.C. Teachers College	6	0	1	5
Pembroke College	5	3	2	0
Brown University	5	1	4	0
Univ. of Pennsylvania	5	3	2	0
Cornell University	5	1	3	1
Barnard College	5	3	2	0
Rutgers University	5	2	1	2
Northeastern Univ.	5	1	2	2
Boston University	5	2	1	2
Indiana University	5	1	2	2
University of Chicago	5	0	4	1
Southern Illinois Univ.	5	2	3	0
Yale University	5	1	3	1
George Pepperdine College	4	1	1	2
Univ. of California (Berkeley)	4	2	1	1
Univ. of Connecticut	4	1	3	0
Purdue University	4	0	3	1
Univ. of Kansas	4	1	1	2
Michigan State Univ.	4	0	2	2
Manhattan College	4	1	3	0
New York University	4	1	0	3
Sarah Lawrence College	4	2	2	0
Baldwin-Wallace College	4	0	4	0
Elizabethtown College	4	0	3	1
Catholic University	4	3	1	0
Bryant College of Bus. Admin.	4	2	1	1
Rockford College	3	2	1	0
Bates College	3	1	2	0
Springfield College	3	0	3	0
Adelphi College	3	1	2	0
Colgate University	3	1	1	1
Columbia University	3	0	3	0
Queens College	3	0	3	0
Vassar College	3	3	0	0
Bowling Green State Univ.	3	0	2	1
Allegheny College	3	2	1	0
Bryn Mawr College	3	0	3	0
Wilson College	3	1	2	0
American University	3	1	2	0
St. John's College	3	0	3	0
St. Louis University	3	1	2	0
Pratt Institute	3	1	1	1
Arizona State College	3	0	3	0

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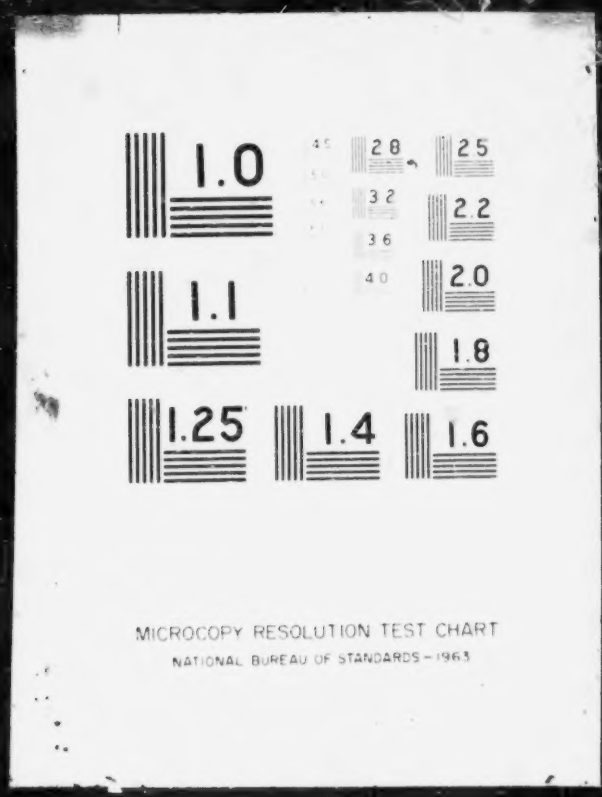

Appendix D

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

6 East 82nd St., New York 28, N. Y.

Your name is requested on this questionnaire only so that we can indicate on our records that we have received a reply from you. All replies will be kept strictly confidential and will be treated only statistically in the final report. Time spent in careful completion of this questionnaire will be of inestimable value to NSSFNS in helping other Negro students during the years ahead.

I. PERSONAL INFORMATION

A. Name _____ Sex _____
(Last, First, Middle)

If married woman, maiden name _____

B. Date of Birth _____ Birthplace _____
(City, State)

C. Present Address _____

D. Permanent Address _____

II. EDUCATION

A. Undergraduate

College, University, Institution	Dates From To	Degree & Year	Major Vocational Aim	Honors, if any
1.				
2.				
3.				

B. Graduate

1.				
2.				
3.				

C. If you left any of the colleges or universities listed above, under II A or II B, before a degree was granted, check one or more of the following reasons for leaving and explain in space provided.

	Undergrad.	Grad.
1. Academic difficulties		
2. Financial difficulties		
3. Disciplinary reasons		
4. Personal reasons		
5. Other _____ (state specific reason)		

Explanation: _____

III. COLLEGE EXPERIENCES

A. Below is a series of statements; circle the number which best describes your general reaction to each statement.

	Yes Very much 1	Yes 2	Cannot Decide 3	No 4	No Definitely 5
1. I consider my college experience a most valuable one which I would not have wanted to miss.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel that I could have received as good an education in a segregated college.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I feel that I was accepted by the student body.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I met with embarrassing situations when off campus.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I had to be on the alert most of the time because I am Negro.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My teachers were fair and treated me as they treated other students.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I felt it was difficult to keep up with the academic level of other students.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I regret having decided to attend an interracial college.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I had to work harder than other students to prove that Negroes are not inferior students.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I feel that I was excluded from normal extra-curricular activities such as clubs, fraternities, etc.	1	2	3	4	5

III. (cont.)

B. Aspects of college which pleased you.

Below are aspects of your undergraduate experience; please rank them in the order in which they pleased you. Write the number 1 in the space alongside that which pleased you the most, the number 2 alongside the next most pleasing description, and so on until the number 10 is assigned to the least pleasing aspect of your college experience.

Intellectual stimulation ..... _____
Social activities ..... _____
Interracial contacts ..... _____
Chance to meet elite of white race ..... _____
Dating opportunities ..... _____
Chance to meet elite of Negro race ..... _____
Chance to get away from home ..... _____
Cultural enrichment ..... _____
Acceptance by faculty ..... _____
Treatment in the community in which the college was located ..... _____

C. In the space provided below please give examples of those experiences which pleased you least (the ones you have ranked as 8, 9, and 10). Use extra sheet, if necessary.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

D. Extra-curricular Activities

Please list activities (clubs, fraternities, sports, etc.) in which you participated, stating year, office held, if any, awards or honors.

Activity	Year	Office or nature of participation	Honors or Awards

III. (cont.)

E. College Financing
(List totals, then amounts received from each source as indicated)

1.	FRESHMAN	SOPHOMORE	JUNIOR	SENIOR	GRADUATE 1st yr.	2nd yr.	3rd yr.
Total cost							
From family							
Your earnings							
Scholarships							
Loans							
Other (specify)							

2. Organizations from which you received scholarships:

Name	Location	Year	Amount	Name	Location	Year	Amount

3. Organization from which you received loans:

Name	Location	Year	Amount	Name	Location	Year	Amount

4. In-school employment:

	Hours per week	Nature of work
Freshman		
Sophomore		
Junior		
Senior		
Graduate		
Graduate		

5. Did this work interfere with your academic performance?
Check one: YES_____ NO_____ CANNOT DECIDE_____
If yes, describe in what way:_____

IV. POST COLLEGE CAREER

A. Occupational record

1. List all jobs since college (list present first), including self-employment, if any.

Dates	Name of Organization	No. of Employees	Nature of Business Done by Organization
to			
to			
to			
to			

YOUR TITLE	Sole or part owner	Nature of your duties	Monthly Salary

2. While with your present company have you received:

	YES	NO
a. A salary increase?	____	____
b. Promotion in title?	____	____

3. Academic or professional societies and associations.

a. Are you a member of any professional or academic associations? YES____ NO____

b. If yes, please fill in the following:

Name of Assoc.	Nature of participation (member, fellow, offices)	Check One Negro	Check One Inter-racial
1.			
2.			
3.			

4. List publications and awards if any._____

B. Military Record

1. Have you had any military service? Yes_____No_____
2. If yes, check the service you were in: Army_____
   Navy_____Air Force_____Other (specify)_____
3. Dates of service: From:_____to_____
4. List all your military job titles and describe your work._____
5. What was the highest rank you attained?_____
6. Where did you spend the bulk of your military service?_____
7. When finally assigned to military or naval duties, was the unit to which you were assigned: (Check one) Mostly white_____
   Mostly Negro_____All Negro_____.

IV. (cont.)

C. Community Activities

1. Check those community activities in which you are now engaged and briefly describe the specific nature of your role in those checked.

___a. Church _____
___b. Local School _____
___c. Fund Raising _____
___d. Negro Rights _____
___e. Political _____
___f. Other (please specify) _____
_____
_____

2. Are you a member of any local, regional, or national organization (other than academic or professional?) Yes___No___. If yes, please indicate the following:

Name of Organization	Purpose	Participation Frequent - Infrequent	Office Held If any
a.			
b.			
c.			

3. List the issues (local, regional, national, and international) which you discuss with your friends and family in the order of their importance to you.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

4. What newspapers and magazines do you read regularly?

_____
_____
_____
_____

D. Discrimination

1. Have you experienced any major form of social discrimination since leaving college? Yes_____No_____.
2. Check the areas in which you personally have experienced discrimination since graduation from college.

___a. applying for jobs
___b. on the job
___c. obtaining housing
___d. social activities
___e. community activities
___f. voting

IV. (cont.)

___g. public accommodations
___h. recreation
___i. unions
___j in the armed services
___k. other (specify)_____

Cite examples for each one checked_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

E. Family and housing since leaving college.

1. Marital status (check one)

___Single
___Married
___Divorced
___Separated

2. If married:

a. How many years?_____
b. How many children?_____
c. Spouse's occupation_____
d. Last year of school completed by spouse_____

3. Check one of the following which describes your present living arrangements.

___own my own home.....value $_____
___rent a home .....monthly rent $_____
___rent an apartment.....monthly rent $_____
___live with relatives .....contribution $_____
___rent a room .....monthly rent $_____
___other_____.....cost $_____

V. Please use the following space for any questions which need further elaboration; statements which would contribute to the effectiveness of the NSSFNS program; and/or for any other remarks you care to make relative to your educational experiences and your present life.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

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